"Votes for Women," October, 1917.

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Since we last went to press, some attempt has been made to give credence to a rumour that the Representation of the People Bill would be held up, after its passage through the House of Commons, until the Committee now sitting to reform the House of Lords had reported and, presumably, till its report had been acted upon. Fortunately, the Trade Union Congress, held at Blackpool early in September, took a strong line about this preposterous suggestion; and if Labour, which stands to lose almost though not quite so much as women by the success of this or any other Anti-Suffragist manœuvre, continues to remain firm, there should be no fear about the ultimate passage of the Reform Bill. But Suffragists, of course, will have to be prepared for similar manœuvres right up to the moment when the Royal Assent is given. The Committee stage of the Bill will be resumed in the Commons the day after Parliament reassembles on October 16. We deal fully with the franchise situation in our leading article on page 300.

First British Woman M.P.

The election of Miss Robert MacAdams as member of the Alberta Parliament is a triumph. There were twenty-one candidates, 17,000 electors (including women), and Miss MacAdams stood second on the poll. She was passed only by Captain R. Pearson, "the fighting parson," with a small majority. Miss MacAdams is now working in the Canadian Military Hospital at Orpington, but in the past she has taken charge of educational and agricultural departments in Alberta; and so she, the first woman M.P. in the British Empire, was, unquestionably, the right sort of candidate. She will probably attend the short session in February, and then return to the Hospital. Her success promises well for the women's cause in Canada at large. As we write, the fate of the new Franchise Bill for the approaching General Election of the Federal Parliament is not absolutely decided. The terms of the Bill are not in themselves satisfactory, for the Federal vote would be given only to the near women relatives (wives, widows, mothers, sisters, and daughters) of soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force; but Sir Robert Borden has publicly stated that, if he is returned to power, he will extend the franchise to all women of British birth, and to foreign women if naturalised.

Women as Ministers

Dr. Fort Newton, of the City Temple, has done the best thing for his church, as well as venturing upon a generous and enlightened action, in taking Miss Maude Royden as his pulpit assistant. All Suffragists know Miss Royden's great services to our cause. All know her appealing eloquence, her reasoning skill, and that entire sincerity without which the most finished rhetoric is worse than any sounding brass. In the pulpit her powers are shown quite as much as on the platform, and it is no wonder that the City Temple is crowded every Sunday and Thursday evening. Besides taking the part of preacher, she has also celebrated the sacrament of baptism, and hitherto, though she is still described as a member of the Church of England, churchmen have not raised objection. In fact, as the *Manchester Guardian* remarks, many people have thought it "very fitting that a woman should perform the service of dedicating a child to the life which its mother and all other women would desire it to live." We notice with interest also that, in the King's Weigh House Church, Miss Constance Todd, B.D., has been ordained to the Congregational ministry, at the same time with Mr. Claud Coltman, to whom she is now married.

The Economic Conscience

In some quarters fear is being expressed lest reconstruction after the war should be seriously hampered by the existence of the "pocket-money" wage-earner, of whom there are said to be thousands engaged on clerical work in Government offices. A Conference has been convened for October by the Women's Industrial Council, to discuss the matter, at which Lord Henry Bentinck will preside. The problem is not such an easy one as it may appear. The blame for this extensive "blacklegging" cannot by any means be wholly put upon the girls and young women from middle-class homes, whom the war has diverted, so it is alleged, from a suburban life of idleness to underpaid Government work. The fact that they appear to be devoid of the economic conscience that would make them refuse to undersell their poorer sisters, is only one side of the question. Whose fault is it that they fail to recognise the injury they are doing to those other women, who work from necessity and not for diversion? At the beginning of the war, patriotism was preached to them in such a manner as to make them feel that it was almost pro-German to insist on a living wage. At all times, whether in peace or war, they have the example before them of employers—not excepting the Government—who think that women can be underpaid with impunity, and certainly paid less than men, even when doing the same work. It is small wonder that some girls, anxious to help the country as well as to escape the tedium of their lives, should see no harm in taking lower wages than their fellow-women.

The Exploitation of Women

The "pocket-money" wage question will, in fact, settle itself when women workers of all kinds cease to be exploited. The recent correspondence in the *Times* on "overworked women" has revealed the fact that, while some women are now receiving adequate pay for the first time, very large numbers of them are being inordinately overworked as well as underpaid. Miss Picton-Turbervill, who, as Vice-President of the Y.W.C.A., can speak with authority, writes:—

> It is no secret in a certain town that young girls are working 13 hours on night shift in a munition factory. If this continues for long most of the girls will be physical bankrupts in the years to come. If these long hours were necessary to the output, the sacrifice would have to be made, and would gladly be made; if it is not, as seems evident, it seems little short of criminal that the long hours should continue.

The injury that is done to the legitimate wage-earner by the thoughtless war worker—and we do not for a moment underestimate this—is still less than the continuous injury that is being suffered by all women workers through their exploitation at the hands of employers. We are sure that any conference under the auspices of the W.I.C. will keep this truth in view. We do not feel so certain that it is grasped by most of those who write to the newspapers about the "pocket-money" wage-earner from the suburbs.

Important U.S. Meeting on October 25

We draw the attention of our readers to the public welcome which United Suffragists propose to give, at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Thursday evening, October 25, to the two members of their Executive who were absent through severe illness for the greater part of the summer. Mr. George Lansbury and Mr. Henry W. Nevinson are too well known in public life to need any words of ours in support of the wish of the U.S. to congratulate them on their recovery and their return to Suffrage activities. We hope, in addition, however, that those interested in the many other movements for the advance of humanity, with which these two distinguished reformers are identified, will take this opportunity of honouring them by applying early to the Hon. Secretary (U.S. Offices, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.2) for invitation cards of admission to the meeting, full particulars of which are given elsewhere.

This Month's Issue

Articles on three important and controversial subjects appear in this issue of our paper. Miss Nettlefold, one of the three women law students who challenged in the Courts the legality of women's exclusion from the profession of solicitor, writes on the present Parliamentary position of the Bill which proposes to remove this disability. On the opposite page, Miss P. G. Hogarth sets forth the views, highly disputed in many quarters, of the Divorce Law Reform Union, embodied in a Bill to be introduced shortly. In another part of the paper will be found an article of very great importance to women, especially housewives, on the economics of the war, one of a series written specially for Votes for Women by Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence. As it is highly probable that among our readers will be found many whose views on these subjects do not coincide with those of the writers, we have great pleasure in inviting correspondence on all three subjects, only asking our correspondents to keep their communications as short as possible.

Items of Interest

In a letter to Lady Londonderry, Mr. Prothero, President of the Board of Agriculture, stated that 200,000 women are now "on the land" in England and Wales, and added:—"In the management of horses, in the care of livestock, in milking and dairying, in thatching, . . . women can hold their own."

At the Women's Employment Exchanges notices are posted asking for women bakers, sailmakers, clerks and motor drivers, for the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps.

Messrs. Macnamara, who do most of the London postal work, and employ some thirty or forty women drivers of mail vans, have now put women in charge of their horses' hospital.

The Bombay Educational Conference recently adopted a resolution in favour of ampler facilities for the education of girls and women. The first four women students have passed their intermediate examination at Punjaub University.

It is reported from Constantinople that the Turkish Government now allow women to study medicine, and also to enter commercial schools as students.

In Germany, the first woman has been given the title of Professor of Music, and the first woman lector has been appointed at Leipzig University.

Nine women were sworn in at the Guildhall, the other day, as special constables on the Great Eastern Railway.

The first woman branch secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen has been appointed at Ashton-under-Lyne.

Sir James Yoxall, M.P., speaking recently to Yorkshire teachers, predicted a famine in teachers, of whom 30,000 recruits would be needed annually, whereas he did not believe there were 12,000 forthcoming.

In comparing to-day's food prices with prewar prices, the *Labour Gazette* shows that the cost of meat has advanced from 100 to 190 per cent., according to the cut; that bacon, butter and cheese have nearly doubled in price, eggs and fish have much more than doubled, and granulated sugar has nearly trebled; and that tea has advanced nearly 80 per cent., and margarine and milk, more than 60 per cent.

Nearly all the English women doctors and nurses, who have been serving in Russia under the direction of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, have now returned to England.

◆

EVELYN SHARP'S BANKRUPTCY

Miss Evelyn Sharp's "public examination," adjourned for the third time, takes place at Bankruptcy Buildings, Carey Street, W.C.2 (just behind the Law Courts) on Tuesday, October 23, at 11 a.m. For the information of those who have not followed her case, we may explain that, although perfectly solvent, Miss Sharp has been declared bankrupt at the instance of the Crown, for her refusal to pay income-tax on her earnings, amounting for the four years 1912-1916, with costs, etc., to £56 19s. 10d. She further refuses, as an unenfranchised woman, to file a statement of her affairs, and is therefore in the position of an undischarged bankrupt, a position of which the Bankruptcy officials are taking every advantage in subjecting her to the petty persecution of having all her letters intercepted and opened, while they neither sell nor return her furniture, the whole of which was removed by them on May 21.

It will greatly support Miss Evelyn Sharp in her difficult fight for principle if the Court is crowded on October 23 with men and women who understand and appreciate her protest.

HOW SOON WILL WOMEN BE SOLICITORS?

By L. F. Nettlefold *(Law Tripos, Camb.; LL.B., Lond.)*

"How soon do you think women will be permitted to become solicitors?"

This is a question which has been put to me frequently of late; and the big developments that have taken place during the war in the way of opening new careers previously closed to women have strengthened the hope that the legal profession also may before long be compelled to unbolt and unbar its doors. Compelled they will certainly have to be: the continued opposition of the Law Society shows that; and the legal papers, with the notable exception of the *Solicitors' Journal*, still maintain their antagonistic attitude. There are signs, however, that, in the profession itself, the opposition is lessening, and even in the Council of the Law Society there is, and has been for some time, a strong and influential minority in favour of admitting women.

Legal Support

This year's President of the Law Society, Mr. Samuel Garrett, has for many years been one of the most active supporters of the reform, and the movement is immensely indebted to him for his unfailing help. Sir Charles Longmore, a past President of the Society, is another warm sympathiser; and a considerable and steadily increasing number of prominent solicitors are prepared to give women the chance to "make-good," though some of them are distinctly inclined to question the likelihood of there being many women who will want to enter the profession.

For the immediate present, interest centres on the Bill introduced by Lord Buckmaster, in March of this year. This measure—the Solicitors' (Qualification of Women) Bill, 1917—passed through all its stages in the House of Lords without a division, which was in itself an instructive sign of public feeling in regard to the matter. When reported to the House of Commons, the Bill was at first "starred"; but it subsequently appeared that this was unfortunately only a printers' error, and the Bill has since been hung up, owing to the refusal of the Government to allow time for its discussion. This refusal, Mr. Bonar Law, in answer to a question from Major Hills, the member in charge of the Bill, based solely on the ground that the Bill is a Private Member's Bill of a controversial nature—a reason which can hardly be considered as convincing. The Bill is a short, single-clause Bill, expressly drafted so as to occupy but the minimum of Parliamentary time, and is one which could be disposed of in a day, or less. It is very strongly supported, both inside and outside the House; in fact, as far as can be judged, the opposition to it in the House itself would be negligible.

A Parliamentary Opportunity

Although it had refused to grant time for the Bill to admit women as solicitors, the Government itself introduced, at the request of the Law Society, another Bill affecting the profession; namely, one enabling the Law Society to hold two sets of examinations yearly, instead of the three required by statute.* The reason given for urgency was the large decrease in the number of candidates sitting for the examinations. This gave the supporters of the Qualification of Women Bill their opportunity; and they were prompt to take it. They pointed out that, were women permitted to sit for the examinations, the deficiency of candidates would be reduced. So successful were they on the Second Reading of the Examinations Bill that the Solicitor-General (Sir Gordon Hewart, who is himself in favour of the admission of women) who had hoped to get the Bill through all its stages that night, had to content himself with the Second Reading, and that only on a promise that the Government would reconsider the question of granting facilities to the Bill to admit women. The question came up again before the Third Reading of the Solicitors' (Examinations) Bill, when Mr. Bonar Law, in answer to a question by Mr. Dickinson, refused to give any promise of facilities in the autumn. His answer on this occasion was, however, couched in considerably less unbending terms than the earlier reply to Major Hills.

Sooner—or Later?

There, for the time being, the matter rests. The incident, though it produced no direct result, was valuable as a demonstration of the backing in the House of Commons in favour of the reform, and the Government was clearly impressed by the show of strength it produced. The Autumn Session, with the Reform Bill among many others yet to be dealt with, is bound to be a full one; and whether it will be possible to bring sufficient pressure to bear on the Government to grant time for the Solicitors' (Qualification of Women) Bill it is impossible to foretell. But the reform, if it does not come now, is bound to come shortly. Not only is the opposition to the admission of women steadily weakening, but what still exists has shifted its ground during the war. It is avowedly no longer based on principle, on the general inadvisability of admitting women to the practice of the law, but on convenience, on the ground that the period of the war, while so many young solicitors and articled clerks are fighting, is not the time to make so far-reaching a change. That reason, at least, cannot hold good after the war; and, with the enfranchisement of women in immediate prospect, there is little reason to fear that their admission to the legal profession can now be long delayed.

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* Particulars of this Bill and its discussion in Parliament were given in the September issue of Votes for Women.

WOMEN AND DIVORCE

Do They Hug Their Chains?

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Madam,—Those who are opposing the suggested measure of divorce reform—making three years' separation a ground for absolute divorce—are counting upon the support of the mass of women in the country. "Women," it is confidently asserted, "will be opposed to anything that weakens the marriage tie"; and it is tacitly implied that when a woman has succeeded in placing a man in the position of being legally bound to support her she could not be such a fool as to allow him any avenue of escape.

When I read things of this sort I begin to wonder if my view of women is entirely wrong; if they do really have as their main object in life the capturing of someone, no matter how undesirable, to earn their bread-and-butter for them; if they regard marriage as a trade which cannot have too strong a Protective Tariff, and if love and happiness and the bearing of healthy children are quite secondary objects with them.

I think that the women of to-day will indignantly deny such a charge. Whatever may have been their position in the past, they are no longer forced to sell themselves to any man who will "keep" them. Those who believe that women will oppose any "widening of the doors of the Divorce Court" forget that a woman has not now to choose between being supported by her father and being supported by her husband.

She Can Support Herself

She can afford to choose a good father for her children instead of taking the first man that offers himself. Those who assume, as surely they are assuming, that a woman has no pride, no ideals, will find themselves mistaken. The woman of to-day does not desire to hold an unwilling man by legal bonds just because he provides her with the material necessities of life, and the provision of bread-and-butter does not reconcile her to being herself tied for life to a drunkard or a waster. The economic position of women is changing rapidly—most rapidly during the last three years; and with that her whole outlook is changing. I do not mean that she is necessarily becoming less willing to be a wife and a mother. Motherhood must always be the completing of a woman's life. But she is no longer driven to marriage by economic necessity. She no longer feels that any man is better than no man.

Why, then, should she be expected to bolster up the anomalous and unjust system of marriage laws which govern society to-day? To assume that she will do so is to assume that she is still a parasite and wishes to remain a parasite. This may once have been true of the middle and upper-class woman. It is no longer true to-day.

A Middle-Class Problem

The problem of sex-dependence is, of course, largely a middle-class problem. The working woman is not a "dependant" of her husband. Not only does she give him full value for her "board and lodging" in the work she does about the house, but she has often a trade of her own, learnt in girlhood, to which she can return, and she not infrequently adds to the family income by homework of one sort or another. When she is unhappily married she will not be found amongst those who rejoice in the tie which binds the man to her. She is not forced to sacrifice her self-respect by living on a man she despises or loathes. The middle-class woman of the past was in a different position. She was badly educated and often incapable, her narrow life, first in her father's home and then in her husband's, never having made any call upon those qualities of resourcefulness and decision which expand with use and die from inactivity. She, indeed, might feel that her only alternative was between marriage and destitution, and that she must choose marriage on any terms—the more secure the better.

Does the brisk young middle-class woman regard the worst husband as better than none? Would she wish, if she had been deceived into an unfortunate marriage, to remain tied for life to any scoundrel rather than be left once more on her own resources? Ask any one of them, and see what her answer will be! The woman of to-day prizes her self-respect and her true freedom above everything else, and she knows that self-respect is impossible where a man and a woman are unwillingly tied together. She would scorn to hold a man against his will, just as she would hate to be held against hers.

What the Bolder Spirits Do:

So true is this that the bolder spirits amongst middle-class women refuse to go through the legal ceremony with the man of their choice, preferring to face the social disabilities of unmarried union rather than be bound under the inflexible and intolerable marriage laws of to-day. These people are not less faithful to one another than legally-married couples. They do not enter upon life together with a less strong sense of responsibility to each other and to their possible children. What they say is simply this:—"If we should ever wish to part it is intolerable that one or other of us should have to commit adultery in order to do so, that at best we should have to pretend to infidelity, and that one of us should have to appear unwilling to be divorced in order that we might not be denied it because—of all stupid reasons—we both wanted it."

It is monstrous that people should be placed in such a position by the law that, in order to contract the only union which seems to them possible for self-respecting people, they must defy public opinion and must inflict on their children the stigma of illegitimacy. Yet if a few women will do even this—and to defy public opinion openly is a matter demanding some courage—rather than submit to our out-of-date marriage laws, we may be sure that many others, less courageous perhaps in actual practice, will support any reform which will make marriage less of a perpetual bondage and afford some way of escape for those who have made mistakes.

Women have proved themselves the possessors of courage and hardihood, of self-respect, of ideals. In ever-increasing numbers they are found to prefer poverty and self-respect to luxury and a degrading dependence upon someone they cannot love. They do not turn from marriage as it ought to be—the union of two free, self-respecting people, bound by affection to each other and to their children. But from marriage as a trade, marriage as a means of livelihood, marriage as a bondage of both parties, they turn with revulsion.

Marriage Must be Made to Fit the Woman's Needs

When she was forced to bargain for a home and an "old age pension," she desired stringent laws to enforce her claims on her husband. Now she desires not so much a bread-winner as a mate, a father for her children whom she and they can respect. Marriage must be adapted to fit the needs of the self-respecting independent woman, just as it was once made to fit the needs of the ill-educated "chattel" woman. And such an adaptation of the law will result in making marriage a more and not a less sacred bond.—Yours, etc.,

P. G. Hogarth.

"THE THREE DAUGHTERS OF MONSIEUR DUPONT"

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the progress of women is that an advance is never made all along the line at the same time. If new occupations are thrown open to women, their wages are kept low. If the married woman's property is secured to her, her status in other respects still leaves her in subjection. So that, while woman is breaking free with extraordinary rapidity to-day, M. Brieux's play, which is now running at the Ambassador's Theatre, is a constant reminder of the chains that still bind her, whether she marries or not. Of course, it must be remembered that "The Three Daughters of Monsieur Dupont" is written in a French setting, and a middle-class setting, and therefore many of the problems presented in it are the problems belonging especially to France, and to the parasitic class of woman who in no country would be found in industrial circles. But no one can sit through its four acts without feeling that most of its points go right home, even in this country, where marriages are not ostensibly arranged for business reasons, and even during the war, which has done so much, in some ways, to raise the position of women. Everyone who is trying to solve the difficulties arising from the surplusage of marriageable women—likely to be increased through the terrible casualties of the war—should go to this play. We may resent the imputation that there is no career for women except marriage and motherhood. (Why, for instance, should not Julie Dupont, with her admitted brains, earn her living like thousands of middle-class women, instead of seeing no choice between remaining with a husband she loathes, who refuses to let her bear children, and taking a lover?) But the fact remains that in numbers of such homes as Monsieur Dupont's there are women who, like his three daughters, are brought up to consider marriage as the only career open to them and are incapable of earning their living in any other way; and it is this situation which is presented by M. Brieux with an exquisite irony, humour and poignancy that make his play an intellectual entertainment of the highest degree, quite apart from its value as propaganda. It is, besides, admirably acted and produced. Miss Ethel Irving as Julie, Mr. C. M. Hallard as her husband, and Mr. O. B. Clarence as Monsieur Dupont, are excellent character studies. But Miss Italia Conti's presentment of Caroline Dupont is the performance of the evening. E. S.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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OCTOBER, 1917.

GET ON WITH THE BILL!

In little over a fortnight after this issue appears Parliament will reassemble for the autumn sittings. It will be the most vital period of the most vital session in the history of our movement. We confidently believe that this will be always remembered as the session of victory for our cause. After a devoted and, at times, embittered struggle of fifty years, the main principle of justice to women will then be established, and women will be admitted to the greatest and most fundamental right of citizenship.

The admission comes late, and it is only partial; for we English are a slow-moving, cautious, and sleepily conservative people, guided less by logic than by tradition. Our Constitution was never defined by code or statute, but has been built up bit by bit as occasion offered, and persistent effort has been needed for each addition. Each step in its progress has been resolutely opposed; nothing but firmer resolution has secured each step, and seldom, if ever, has the advance reached the mark which its advocates desired, Something in the English nature tends to compromise rather than to the exactness of reason, and though this tendency, as we are so often told, may deliver us from the futility of doctrinaires, we suffer that loss of enthusiasm which compromise involves. So it is now. At the best, the Reform Bill cannot give us all that we Adultists desire. It is admittedly a compromise. It stops short of finality. It bears no mark of exact and logical reason, such as is supposed, for instance, to characterise the politics of France. Its provisions do not satisfy; but, as English people who know our country's way of doing things, we take the provisions as they stand, looking to the future for the further necessary advance. If compromise damps enthusiasm, we can still acclaim with joy the victory of the real cause for which we have so long contended. Provided this session completes the Bill, the main barrier of injustice to women will have been removed.

Danger of Delay

Of all dangers, delay is now the worst, and delay has been already lamentable. Considerable progress was made before the Recess, and, so far as the Clauses specially concerning us went, there was no cause for complaint, for the triumph was overwhelming. But, on other points, the Bill moved slowly; on one important provision it was lamed; and at last it was shoved aside to clear the course for a measure deemed more urgent. How, during a war for the principles of democracy, any measure could be more urgent than the one which sought to establish the principle of true democracy in this country for the first time, is a question we need not consider now. The Bill was set aside, and dangerously delayed, the danger, in our belief, threatening not only our cause but the whole country, still deprived of any register in the least representative of the people. The Government now promise to proceed with the Bill as their first important measure this autumn. In nautical language, we call on them to "carry on," and to "make it so." In this paper we naturally put our own cause first, but in calling upon them to carry on we are not thinking only of our cause. We speak for the highest and widest interests of the whole country. While our country's bitterest enemies are seeking to extend democratic influence within their own scheme of government, we hope our country, long regarded as the modern example of the democratic principle, may not be taunted as the one which alone holds back. Let our democracy begin at home. We may be sure that it will not end there, as so often charity ends.

The Wire Entanglements

But there are dangers and uncertainties in all political life, and during war time these are incalculably increased. The Bill has still to be completed in the House of Commons, and difficult points will yet be considered. Then comes the House of Lords with possible amendments here and amendments there. Next the consideration of the amendments by the House of Commons. And all the time there hangs over the Bill, like a sword threatening its extinction, the possible collapse of this Parliament, followed by an election upon the rotten register, leaving all to do again. Through these barbed entanglements the Bill has to hack its way, and the enemy—especially the surviving "Antis"—though heavily defeated, are sure to snipe or counter-attack. Their latest device was by way of ambush. It was casually laid in a *Daily Telegraph* leading article. We quote three sentences only:—

> We would urge this consideration as earnestly as possible—that a solution of the Second Chamber problem should be found before the Representation of the People Bill becomes law. . . The Representation of the People Bill is the most democratic step which this country has ever been asked to take. It is an absolute "leap in the dark," so far as the enfranchisement of women is concerned, for no one can foretell what the influence of their vote will be.

The Last Defence

So it goes on. Perhaps we were wrong to call it an ambush. Rather it is a snare openly set. Or we may call it the "Antis'" last ditch, their last desperate hope of checking our advance. It is surprising to find the ditch dug in Lord Burnham's paper, which has hitherto firmly supported our cause in the Bill; but there it is. Delay till Lord Bryce's Conference on the Reconstruction of the Second Chamber arrives at some agreement, issues its Report, and gets its recommendations carried through both Houses, would mean the death and burial of the present Bill. There is not the smallest doubt about that. The proposal aims at the destruction of our cause and of democracy's hope. The snare is hardly concealed. The ditch is our enemy's last defence. As the *Daily News* well puts it:—

> The claim that the Commons' Bill shall be delayed for an essay in academic constitution-making is a mere wrecking amendment. The passing of this Bill next session is essential. To delay it further would cast the gravest doubts on the good faith of the Government.

Women have had cause enough in the past to doubt the good faith of many Governments, but such a monstrous breach of faith as this appears incredible. It would shatter the last hope of political honesty, the last ideal of our public life. We refuse even to imagine it. We refuse to believe that any of the fourteen representatives of the Commons could continue to sit in Lord Bryce's Conference. We refuse to believe that Lord Bryce, a man of unquestioned honour, would remain its Chairman. The whole conspiracy appears to us, in Dr. Johnson's familiar phrase, "The last resource of a scoundrel."

What Others Think

The Labour Congress at Blackpool treated the malign suggestion with astonished disgust. The Chairman said their Parliamentary Committee had heard the suggestion with alarm. Mr. Arthur Henderson, speaking amid great applause as Leader of the Labour Party, was more explicit:—

> That is a direct challenge to democracy (he said, after quoting the proposal). If we are to create a new world out of the chaos when the world conflict has been brought to an end, it can only be done by our having the power to impress with our ideals and permeate with our spirit the national and international life, and to do so it is absolutely essential that the Representation of the People Bill should as speedily as possible be placed on the Statute-book.

For those reasons, and for the well-known reasons more particularly relating to our cause, we demand of the Government to get on with the Bill. Overwhelming in importance as the war is, the war stands as no obstacle to the Bill. Rather it affords the Bill a higher claim and a finer opportunity. Canada is admitting women to the Federal Suffrage as a war measure. The Suffragists among our American Allies are urging their Government to accept the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment Bill as a war measure. Women have picketed the White House at Washington, carrying a banner, among others, inscribed with the motto, "England and Russia are Enfranchising Women in War-time."

An Impossible Dishonour

It is not for our country to belie such expectations. It is not for any Government to break faith under subterfuge. Least of all is it for the Government of a country whose highest claim should be to stand as leader of the democratic nations whether in peace or war, to break faith over our first measure of genuine democracy. We refuse to believe so base a dishonour possible, and we refuse to question the sure and certain hope of victory.

Henry W. Nevinson.

THE FUND

	£	s.	d.
Anon	50	0	0
Mrs. Almond	2	0	0
Mrs. Baillie-Weaver	4	0	0
Misses M. and J. Barrowman	0	10	0
Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck	3	0	0
Miss Dalgliesh	0	2	6
Misses J. and E. Gulland	0	15	0
Miss S. W. Holden	0	10	0
Mrs. Hutt	0	1	0
Miss A. McNeill	1	1	0
Miss Anna Martin	1	0	0
Miss M. Mears	0	3	0
Miss Oldrini	0	13	0
Miss M. E. Osborne	3	0	0
Miss J. M. Reed	0	2	6
Per Miss Tyrrell	0	3	0
	£67	1	0

NATIONAL HOUSEKEEPING

The Financial Problems Awaiting Women Voters

By F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE

I.—SPENDING ON THE WAR.

The war has cost this nation to date some five thousand million pounds; of this about a thousand millions have been raised in taxes and some four thousand millions have been borrowed. Every further day that it lasts it is costing about seven millions, of which over five millions are being borrowed.

To many people these statements present only a confused tangle of ideas, partly because the figures themselves are so vast that they seem mere arithmetical digits, and partly because the facts to which they refer are themselves obscure. What does it mean for a nation to *spend* money in war? What is it that is really spent? How is it paid for? What happens when a nation *borrows* money? What will be the effect on the future? When these questions have been answered there arises the final question:—What steps ought to be taken, now or after the war, to mitigate the ill effects of this spending and borrowing?

What is it that is Spent in War?

When people refer to *spending*, they always speak of spending so much *money*. A man is said to spend £1,000 in buying a house. That does not generally mean that he has so much gold or silver, or even paper money, less in his safe than he had before the purchase. It means that he has parted with a thousand pounds' *worth* of his realisable wealth (stocks or shares, freehold or leasehold estate, or credit at his bank) in order to buy the house. In the same way, if the house which he owns is burnt down, he is said to lose £1,000. That doesn't mean that that amount of gold or silver or paper money was destroyed in the house, but that the house itself and the furniture which was destroyed were reckoned as being *worth* £1,000.

In just the same way, when a nation is said to spend a million pounds in a war, it does not mean that it has destroyed or parted with a million pounds in gold or silver or paper, but that things have been consumed and services have been rendered which together are reckoned at a million pounds. Thus the daily outlay by this nation of seven million pounds represents such things as the following: so many million bullets, so many thousand shells, tons of barbed wire, cannons, rifles, aeroplanes, gun carriages, gallons of petrol, coal for the ships, clothes and food for the soldiers; and again, ammunition and coals and other things sent to Italy and other countries (included in the term *money* lent to the Allies); and, finally, the time and services of officers, soldiers, sailors, etc., valued at so much a day and paid for in wages to them and in separation allowances to their dependants.

Production Cannot be Anticipated

It is not necessary to be an economist to realise that only those things can be used which are already in existence. The services of the soldiers and sailors must, of course, be given at the time; the rifles and bullets and shells and petrol, etc., which they use, must have been either imported from abroad or made in the workshops of the country prior to their use. No financial device can alter this simple fact or enable, for example, the soldiers to fire shells in 1917 which have yet to be made in 1918. Moreover, most of the things which are being used in the war to-day were not in existence before the war began. The guns and rifles, bullets and shells, and khaki clothing, in stock in 1914, were only enough for the regular army of two or three hundred thousand men, and have long since been used up. In 1914, there were scarcely any aeroplanes; the coal is dug and the food is grown year by year, and so on. Therefore, apart from what comes in from abroad, the country as a whole must, not only supply the men for the Army and Navy, but also *at the time* provide the bulk of the things they consume. And this is what is actually being done.

Popular Fallacies

These facts seem so self-apparent that it is difficult to understand how anyone can be misled with regard to them. Yet they are the source of many fallacies popularly held. Thus, some people argue that, because *money* passes from hand to hand, and there is as much *money* in the country as before the war, there can be no real loss; the fact is that it is not *money* but *things* which are destroyed. Others argue that the capital wealth of the country as a whole has been diminished by exactly the amount spent on the war; the fact is that a great part of what is destroyed in the war has been specially created during the war, while the initial capital wealth of the country—the houses, the factories, the bridges, the railways, the machines, the canals, the docks, etc., etc.—largely remains intact. A third section, who talk vaguely about throwing the burden of the war on to posterity (in which there is a certain measure of truth), do not realise that most of the production of the material, both for the prosecution of the war and for the sustenance of the civil population, must be effected at the time and is not capable of postponement.

How Does a Nation Pay for a War?

If a country had no foreign trade, and all the people pooling their resources worked together without money for the common weal, paying for the war would take a very simple form. Some of the people would have to serve as soldiers and sailors, others would have to work harder and also go without many things they had before the war. In addition there might be some using up of the stocks accumulated before the war, and some deterioration of existing capital. Apart from the terrible loss arising from the destruction of the vigorous manhood of the country, the only two problems which would face posterity would be firstly, the change back from war industries to peace industries, and, secondly, the problem of replenishing the stocks and repairing the capital.

The actual case of our own country differs from this imaginary one in two important particulars. Firstly, we have our foreign trade, and, being very hard pressed for materials both for the prosecution of the war and for the sustenance of our civil population, we import a great deal of them from abroad. These imports are partly paid for by other materials which we export in exchange; but during the war these exports do not nearly pay for all our imports, and we have to pay in other ways also. In the first place, the people of the country as a whole are selling to Americans and others a great quantity of the foreign investments they held before the war; secondly, our people and our Government are borrowing directly from Americans and the American Government. Of course, no actual "money" is sent either for the investments sold or on account of the loans; but "credit" is given, which is used up in sending to this country the material imports.

The second main difference between the actual case and the imaginary one is that, in reality, inside our own country the separate individuals each have their own money, and work for payment, while the war is waged, not by the country as a whole, but by the Government. Of course, the Government *might* commandeer everything it wanted and order the whole resources of the country to be pooled. As a matter of fact, it does neither of these things. It pays for what it takes, and leaves buying and selling for private needs to go on more or less as before.

Two New Problems

In consequence of these differences between the actual and the imaginary, two new problems therefore arise. The first is the problem of the loss of foreign investments and the incurring of debts to foreigners. The second is the problem of the change of internal distribution, by which some people inside the country have become richer, and some people poorer, as the result of the war. I shall leave the elucidation of these problems to a further article.

(*To be continued in our November issue.*)

WELCOME TO GEORGE LANSBURY AND H. W. NEVINSON

Informal Meeting in Central Hall, Westminster, on October 25, at 8 p.m.

For many weeks during the summer, Mr. George Lansbury and Mr. H. W. Nevinson, two prominent United Suffragists, and both members of the Executive, were unable through severe illness to do any work for the Suffrage movement, or for any other of the causes in the service of humanity to which they devote their lives. All U.S. members and sympathisers will rejoice to know that both are now restored to health, and will be glad to have an opportunity of welcoming them back to their activities. This opportunity will occur on Thursday evening, October 25, when an informal meeting will be held in the Conference Hall, Central Hall, Westminster, at 8 p.m., followed by conversation, smoking, and light (very light and war-like) refreshments. Both Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Nevinson will give short addresses, and the other speakers will be Lady Emily Lutyens, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Evelyn Sharp (Chair).

Invitations to the Meeting

Invitations will be sent to every London member of the U.S. Anyone who does not receive an invitation is requested to write to headquarters and ask for one. Replies to invitations are essential, in order that the organization of the meeting may be facilitated. It is hoped also that others who are not members of the U.S. will apply for invitations to the Hon. Secretary, United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.2, without delay.

In view of the Franchise situation, this meeting, held a week after the reassembling of Parliament, ought to be an interesting means of exchanging views and information at a very important and critical moment in our movement. All friends and supporters will be welcome at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Thursday evening, October 25. Let the United Suffragists' offices be deluged with requests for invitations!

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2. Telephone, Holborn 5880

Colours: Purple, White and Orange

THE COMMITTEE

Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck
Miss Brewster (*Hon. Secretary*)
Mr. Albert Dawson
Major H. J. Gillespie, D.S.O. (*Hon. Treasurer*)
Mr. Gerald Gould
Mrs. Ayrton Gould (*Hon. Treasurer pro tem.*)
Mr. Laurence Housman
Mr. George Lansbury
Mr. Henry W. Nevinson
Miss Evelyn Sharp
Mrs Ben Webster (Miss May Whitty)
Mrs. Elaine Whelen

THE CAMPAIGN

Tuesday, October 2; 8 p.m.—General Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club, 92, Borough Road, London, S.E. 1. Club members and helpers only.

Sunday, October 7; 3 p.m.—Open Air.—Hyde Park. Speakers: Mrs. Davies and others.

Monday, October 8; 7.30 p.m.—Annual General Meeting.—Corporation Chambers, Bolton.

Tuesday, October 9; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Miss Newcomb on "Women and Children in the Back Blocks in Australia."

Tuesday, October 16; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Miss Nina Boyle on "Eight Months' Work with our Serbian Ally."

Sunday, October 21; 3 p.m.—Open Air.—Hyde Park. Speakers: Miss Wertheim and others.

Tuesday, October 23; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—Speaker: Mrs. John Scurr.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25; 8 p.m.—U.S. WELCOME TO MR. GEORGE LANSBURY AND MR. H. W. NEVINSON IN THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER. OTHER SPEAKERS: THE LADY EMILY LUTYENS, MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE, MISS EVELYN SHARP (CHAIR). ADMISSION FREE BY TICKET; APPLY HON. SEC., UNITED SUFFRAGISTS.
(Further particulars on back page of this issue.)

Sunday, October 28; 3 p.m.—P.S.A. Meeting.—Wesleyan Church, Ashford. Speaker: Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett. Chair: Mr. Herbert Lee, J.P.

Tuesday, October 30; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8; 3 p.m. to 9 p.m.—CHRISTMAS SALE IN AID OF U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB, CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER. (See below and page 303.)

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, S.E.

Secretary: Miss V. Aitken. Tel.: Hop 4172

The club reopened on September 3, and members were warm in their expressions of pleasure at being back. "It *has* seemed a long time," was heard on all sides, while several of the girls frankly admitted that they hadn't known what to do with themselves while the club was shut. Many of the members, whom the Holiday Fund had enabled to take a seaside holiday, had much to tell me of their doings at Littlehampton, Ramsgate, or Leigh-on-Sea; and these by their bronzed and robust appearance certainly seemed to have benefited by the change.

"I never enjoyed a holiday so much in my life," declared one member after a stirring narrative of country walks, sea-bathes, and char-à-banc drives; nevertheless, one and all agreed that they were glad to be back at the club.

The club concerts are again resumed, and we would thank Mr. Threadgold for his delightful programme; also Miss Hodge and Miss Evelyn Sharp for their interesting lectures at the Tuesday evening meetings. It has been found necessary to change the concert evening in future from Thursday to Wednesday, as a good many of the younger members are taking a gymnastic or first-aid course on Thursday evening.

General Meeting of Members

A general meeting will be held in the club on Tuesday, October 2, at 8 sharp. All members, helpers, and members of the U.S. Committee are invited to attend; no outsiders will be admitted. All suggestions, and matter for discussion, should be sent in to the Secretary, Miss Aitken, as far as possible beforehand.

Appeal for Food Stuffs

It is becoming more and more difficult to provide refreshments at a reasonable price, owing to the great rise in the cost of food. Friends can greatly assist us with gifts of jam, butter, marmalade, bread, sugar and tea. If these can be *regular* gifts, it will materially help the management.

ASHFORD U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Mr. John Marsh, 45, Royd's Road, Willsborough, Kent. Organizer: Miss Maude White, Magazine House, Winchelsea, Sussex

Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett is speaking at the P.S.A. on the last Sunday in October. Members will remember her inspiring speech at Ashford, when she spoke to the railwaymen after their deputation to Mr. Asquith. If possible, an evening meeting will be arranged at the schools on the same day; members will receive due notice later in the month.

Everyone will be pleased to hear that Mrs. Despard has been invited to speak again at Ashford. Will any member volunteer to help with the paper selling? Miss Jellicoe is quite willing to sell papers in her shop, but cannot undertake to send to members or sympathisers. Someone is badly needed to take round papers. Perhaps a little girl would like the job?

Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. C. Bentinck, £10; Mrs. Shippam, 1s.; Mrs. Knock, 6d.

BOLTON U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss S. W. Holden, 110, Tottington Road, Harwood, Bolton

The annual general meeting of the members will be held on Monday, October 8, at 7.30, when, in addition to the usual business, plans for the opening session will be discussed. In view of the serious franchise situation it is hoped there will be a full attendance. Subscriptions are now due.

HAMPSTEAD U.S.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss Daisy Solomon, 64, Pattison Road, N.W. 2; Miss E. Engert, 3, Pattison Road, N.W. 2.

The first drawing-room meeting after the holidays will be held, by kind invitation of Mrs. Sadd Brown, early in October, when it is hoped that Miss Gore Booth will be the speaker. Full particulars of this gathering will be sent to members, and they are specially asked to make it known to their friends.

KENSINGTON U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Postlethwaite, 47a, Earl's Court Road, W. 8. Telephone: 926 Western

The loss of Miss Yarwood as a paper seller is much to be regretted; she has been a constant seller for years in her spare time, both in Kensington and in the Park on Sundays. Her loss will be greatly felt. Will no one take her place?

The shop is open again, hours 10 to 5. Thanks are due to Mrs. Holden for jumble sale contributions, left during the holidays.

LETCHWORTH U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Ruth Pym, 2, Meadow Way Green

A meeting was held on Tuesday, September 18, at 2, Meadow Way Green, to discuss the general situation and to elect a representative to the Committee for the representation of women on local bodies. Mrs. Hunter was elected unanimously. The meeting also approved a resolution drawn up by a body of women representing local women's societies on the question of Clause 3 of the C.L.A. Bill; the resolution protested strongly against the inclusion of Clause 3. The meeting gave their hearty endorsement to the resolution. It was agreed to meet again in January, or sooner, should special occasion arise.

HENDON WOMEN'S FRANCHISE SOCIETY (Affiliated to United Suffragists)

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. McCabe, 49, Bridge Lane, Hendon, N.W. 4.

Unfortunately, we go to press just too early to be able to give particulars of the Conference we are arranging to take place early in October. The question to be discussed is "Should Women Organise as Voters?" Miss Newcomb has promised to be one of the speakers. Most of the Women's societies of the district have promised to take part.

Anyone interested who would like to attend will be cordially welcomed, and will receive particulars in good time, if they will kindly apply to me for the same.

TO "CARRY ON" THE CLUB

How Our Readers can Help

We are sure that all United Suffragists will wish to carry on the Women's Club, which they established in Southwark soon after the outbreak of war. It has done good work in affording a meeting ground for U.S. members and the women and girls of the Borough, into whose lives the war has brought so much anxiety, strain and difficulty, and in many cases so much sorrow. The weekly lectures and concerts are well attended by large and appreciative audiences; the refreshments, consisting of tea, coffee, cocoa, bread-and-butter, jam, marmalade, and soup, enable the members to obtain a hot meal at cost price; and the brightly-lighted and well-warmed club rooms offer a comfortable place for the older women and mothers to meet, read the papers, and exchange ideas, and for working-girls to play games, dance, get up plays, read their books, and so on.

What the Club Does

The Club is open every day but Sunday, from 3 till 9.45 p.m. Different helpers attend on regular days, and the whole is supervised by Miss Aitken, the Club Secretary, who does her best to keep in personal touch with the members by calling on them at home, if invited, and being always ready to help and sympathise in every possible way. There is, however, no attempt to run the Club from above, irrespective of the members themselves; for general meetings are held periodically, at which suggestions are freely made, discussed and voted on by everybody, and a real effort is made to maintain the Club as a mutual benefit for all concerned in it, and not as a philanthropic enterprise to "improve" people arbitrarily.

The Spirit of Those Who Meet There

In the summer a fund is raised to enable those members who can get away to spend a week or a fortnight at the seaside. A day's outing is also arranged, which, this year, took the form of an excursion by river to Hampton Court. At Christmas time, stocking presents are provided for the children, or younger brothers and sisters, of members; and a tea, followed by an entertainment, is got up for all the members as well as the children. But it can truly be said that it is not the entertainments or special events of the Club year that make the U.S. Women's Club a success. The members and helpers alike feel it is their own Club, dependent upon their mutual efforts for its maintenance; they have an equal pride in it, and an equal wish for its future well-being, and it is this spirit running through the Club that makes it worth while.

How the Funds are Raised

The Club is supported by a fund of its own, raised by voluntary contributions, by the proceeds of Fancy Fairs, entertainments and Jumble Sales, arranged especially for the purpose, and by the money taken for members' subscriptions and for refreshments. It is necessary to make a special effort again, this autumn, to raise funds to carry on at 92, Borough Road; and it is proposed to hold a Christmas Sale on December 8, as in the years 1914, 1915, and 1916, the proceeds of which will be devoted to the upkeep of the Club in 1918. For particulars of this Sale, please see page 303 and the back page of this issue.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES	HEAVY SENTENCES
Neglect of Children The *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* (September 1) reports case of a machineman, charged before the Newcastle magistrates, with seriously neglecting his four children. He could earn from 40s. to 50s. a week, but had deserted his wife for sixteen months, was said to be living with another woman, and refused to work. The wife went out to work and the children were neglected . Sentence: *One month's imprisonment.*	**Theft of Jewellery** The *Times* (August 22) reports case of a porter, charged at the London Sessions with stealing a ring and bracelet valued at £60 from a private hotel. Sentence: *Twelve months' imprisonment.*
Cruelty to a Pit Pony The *Times* (September 10) reports case of a youth charged before the Notts County Bench with cruelly ill-treating a pit pony by beating it with an iron bar till the blood ran down its body. Another account says "its flesh was reduced to pulp." Sentence: *One month's hard labour.*	**Theft of Money** The *Times* (July 26) reports case of a waiter and two tailors, charged before Judge Atherley Jones at the Central Criminal Court with stealing £3 and two cheques for £3 each. Sentence: *The waiter to five years' penal servitude, and the tailors to three years' penal servitude each.*
Assault on a Girl The *Nuneaton Observer* (September 14) reports case of a youth summoned at Atherstone Police Court for indecently assaulting a girl of 15. Sentence: *Fined £2.*	**Stealing Postal Orders** The *Times* (September 10) reports case of a postman, charged at the Guildhall with stealing three postal orders of the value of 5s., 6s., and 6s. 6d. He pleaded the increased cost of living in extenuation. It was stated he had been in the postal service for seventeen years. Sentence: *Six months' hard labour.*

The facts in our "Comparison of Punishments" speak for themselves. We would only comment on the third of the parallels drawn above by pointing out that in neither of the cases that form it was the offender a hardened criminal. Apparently both the postman and the youth who assaulted the young girl were first offenders; yet a paltry fine was considered sufficient punishment for what must be conceded to have been the worse offence of the two—that is, judged by human and not magisterial standards. We do not demand long sentences of imprisonment under our present system, even for those who injure children and little girls, because we consider the system bad and ineffectual. But some means of regenerating the youths and men who prey upon girls and young women, instead of leaving them at large to repeat their offence, would surely be devised by a wise and humane State.

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MANUFACTURING CRIMINALS

We have always contended in these columns that our penal code needs revision from top to bottom, that long sentences manufacture and do not reform criminals, and that, when we criticise the light sentences passed upon those who assault and injure the person, our object is not to commend heavy penalties, but to readjust the accepted sense of proportion, which reserves long sentences almost exclusively for those whose offences threaten the rights of property and not the bodies of human beings. Our point of view has been borne out on more than one occasion lately, when the record of criminals in the dock, charged with theft and similar crimes, has been such as to prove the futility of punishments under our present system.

Thirty-one Years in Prison

A man, aged forty-seven, was committed for trial at Old Street Police Court, on September 15, for stealing a silver cigarette case and tobacco pouch. It was stated that since 1882 he had been sentenced to seven terms of penal servitude and sixteen other terms of imprisonment. He had never been at liberty for more than a year, and his sentences amounted in the aggregate to thirty-one and a half years. His offences were mainly thefts of clothing, jewellery and money.

First Sentence at Fourteen

The following dialogue is reported to have taken place:—

The magistrate pointed out that the prisoner must have had sentences of three months and six months when he was twelve years old. The prisoner: "I am not sure whether I am forty-seven or forty-nine, but I was about fourteen when first sentenced."

The Magistrate: "Yours is one of the most appalling records I have ever read. Whatever your age is you must have been very young when you were first convicted. You have spent practically the whole of your life in prison."

Here is another case:—A munition worker, aged sixty-five, was sentenced at the London Sessions, on August 23, to three years' penal servitude for picking pockets. It was stated that he had undergone many terms of penal servitude and imprisonment in England, Ireland, and South Africa, his first conviction being in 1864.

"Never had a Chance"

An equally bad instance is that of the man who was sentenced to three years' penal servitude at the Central Criminal Court on September 17. He pleaded that he had never had a chance, that he was only forty-three and twenty-two years of his life had been spent in prison.

Can it be seriously maintained, in the face of glaring facts like these, that our penal system does not manufacture criminals? Yet, as the right-hand column of the above table of punishments shows, our judges and magistrates continue to impose these long sentences for theft, though so much evidence goes to show that some other treatment is required for dealing with such people. What is worse, there is even a tendency to repeat the error of the last generation and to meet the increasing prevalence of petty thefts among children merely by making the punishment more severe. At Salford, on August 23, a special meeting of magistrates was held to discuss the question of "juvenile crime," which was stated to be causing serious concern in that town; and one of the suggestions made was that increased penalties should be inflicted on offenders brought before the court. We are glad to note that after a long discussion a special committee was appointed to consider the whole subject and report. But the fact that such a reactionary suggestion was made at all shows that there are still people, holding positions of authority, whose only idea of dealing with increased crime is to meet it by increasing the penalties which have already proved ineffectual.

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NEW WOMEN VOTERS IN MANITOBA

The new voters' list has just been prepared in Manitoba, and for the first time women are included in it. Women as well as men were appointed in Winnipeg as registration clerks, and at exactly the same rate of pay. A very large registration of women was the result of the publicity and propagandist campaign, carried on for a week beforehand by a women's committee, formed of members of the local Council of Women, the Political Education League, the W.C.T.U., and the Women's Civic League.

Registration is no easy task in a community where there is so large a foreign element. The *Woman's Century* (organ of the National Council of the Women of Canada) gives a most amusing account of the difficulties of the woman registration clerk when asked, for instance, to enter the name of a labourer called Mykytzsgyn, or another called Zatokyskoi! A proud Swedish husband spoke as follows of the wife who came with him to the registration booth:—

"She good wife. She had seven childer and it's a fine ting that she now have the vote. Woman she have place at home all right, but she must also see outside. My Frida she must tink for herself. The franchise be no good for people vot can't tink. But I will not tell her to do one ting. She do herself."

The operation of the naturalization law, which forces a married woman to take the nationality of her husband (an Act which British Suffragists were unable, being voteless, to keep from passing into law) was also seen in Winnipeg, where any German or Austrian wife of a British or Canadian husband could register as a voter, while the British or Canadian woman, married to a German, or any other foreigner who was not naturalized, could not do so. Several women's organizations in Canada are demanding an amendment of the Act to enable all women to be naturalized as individuals.

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WOMEN CANDIDATES

A leaflet has been issued by the Women's Local Government Society (19, Tothill Street, S.W. 1), intended to prepare people interested in local government for the municipal elections that must take place after the war. It points out that until the Representation of the People Bill becomes law it will not be possible to know who will form the electorate. But this uncertainty will not exist with regard to the qualifications required of candidates for election to any Local Government body, and the rest of the leaflet deals with the preparatory work that may be done in every constituency with a view to securing the best women candidates for election. The price of the leaflet is ½d. each, or 3d. a dozen.

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FROM "PUNCH"

"Now is the opportunity for carrying out the recommendations of a Select Committee in 1908 that there should be a common gallery for men and women."—*The Vote.*

A sort of Mixed Grille, in fact.

(Hon. Organiser's Note.)

OUR CHRISTMAS SALE

Central Hall, Westminster—Saturday, December 8, 3—9 p.m.

IN AID OF U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

In spite of the increasing difficulties we are determined that our Christmas Sale shall be as great a success as ever. This, however, involves considerable effort, and I hope that members will let me know as soon as possible what they can do. At present no stalls have been taken, and I shall be glad to have offers from people willing to take charge of one. The most important are provisions, books, and toys (as these are the most profitable), but I shall be pleased to have offers of any kind.

Any Suggestions?

I shall be most grateful for original suggestions for stalls, side shows, and entertainments of any kind.

In view of the fact that provisions will be very hard to collect this year, all our members are urged to contribute something, however small, to this stall. Eggs and butter will be particularly acceptable, and no gift can be too small for us to receive gratefully.

Other Societies Co-operating

Four other Suffrage Societies have decided to take stalls, and we hope to hear from others very shortly.

Those who have already promised are the Women's International League, the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, the Church League for Women's Suffrage, and the Free Church League. The proceeds of these stalls will be devoted to the funds of the several Societies holding them; but all the money made at the U.S. stalls, refreshments and side shows will be devoted to the maintenance fund of the U.S. Women's Club at Southwark.

TO OUR COUNTRY FRIENDS

Our country friends can help us particularly over our Farm Produce and Provision Stall. This is a particularly important, as well as remunerative stall in war time. No one wants luxuries in these days, but everyone wants food; so why not buy it at the U.S. Christmas Sale and help the U.S. Women's Club? But to this end we must have plenty of produce with which to stock it; and it is here that our country friends come in.

Who will send me promises now of potatoes, carrots, turnips, onions, and other vegetables? Of cheese, butter, eggs? Of rabbits, game, sausages, cooked meats, or any other foodstuffs? All these will mean solid gain, and will, besides, furnish buyers with what they would naturally be seeking in any case in their Saturday's shopping.

TO OUR LONDON MEMBERS

From our London members I want all kinds of promises at once—stalls undertaken, alone or in collaboration with others; offers of goods for other people's stalls; offers of help in distributing handbills and bringing friends on the day to buy; suggestions for an interesting "sixpenny" or "penny dip." An offer of help made now is worth twice as much as one made just before the Sale opens.

TO OUR CLUB MEMBERS

Last year the U.S. Club members made a round sum over a stall of their own. I hope they will beat their own record this year. Will every member who means to contribute to the Club stall give her promises to Miss Aitken now?

Finally, I call upon all the readers of this paper to "do their bit" for our Club by helping to make the Sale a success on Decemer 8.

All communications to be addressed to me at the United Suffragists' Offices, 27 Chancery Lane, W.C.2.

Bertha Brewster

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

MISS A. MAUDE ROYDEN will PREACH at a series of CHURCH SERVICES to be held on Wednesdays, October 10, 17, 24, 31, at 6.30 p.m., in the Conference Hall, Central Buildings, Westminster. The services are open to all.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds Public Meetings on Wednesday afternoon in the Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn, W.C., at 3.30. October 3rd—Mrs. M. W. Nevinson on "The Prospects of Success," and Mrs. Mustard. October 10th—Mrs. Stanbury on "Women in the Government of London," and Miss Nina Boyle. October 17th—The Rev. W. C. Roberts and Miss Nina Boyle. October 24th—Miss Evelyn Sharp and Mrs. Despard. Admission Free. Tea can be obtained in the Café if desired.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON DISCUSSION MEETINGS at the Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C., at five o'clock. October 7th—Mr. W. L. George on "Will the Position of Married Women be Enhanced or Diminished by the War?" November 18th.—Miss Rebecca West on "The Real Sources of the Inequality of the Sexes." Admission 2s. 6d. (reserved) and 1s. from the Women's Freedom League Offices, 144, High Holborn. Tea can be obtained in the Café from 4.15 to 4.50.

BRITISH DOMINIONS WOMAN SUFFRAGE UNION.

LECTURES, 1917-18, at MINERVA Café, 144, High Holborn, WOMAN AND REVOLUTION. TWO CENTURIES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY. With special reference to economic problems. LECTURER, MARGARET HODGE. First Lecture, Monday, October 1, at 3 p.m. Tickets for Part I. (ten Lectures), 5s., to be obtained from the Lecture Secretary, Minerva Café.

EDUCATIONAL

ADA MOORE.—Lessons in Singing, Voice Production, Diction. Visits Brighton, Winchester, weekly; West End Studio.—158, Elm Park Mansions, Park Walk, London, S.W.

MODERN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, Letchworth.—Principal, Miss Cartwright, M.A.; staff includes specialists and University graduates; pupils prepared for professional entrance examinations; bracing moorland air; home comforts.

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GENTS.' HANDKERCHIEF BARGAINS, slightly imperfect, hemstitched, Irish Linen, size 18 or 19 inches, six for 3s. 7d., postage 3d.; twelve for 7s., postage 4d. Bargain Catalogue free.—Hutton's, 167, Larne, Ireland.

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will be given at the

CONFERENCE HALL (main entrance) CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER,

ON THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 25,

at 8 p.m. sharp

to

Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY

and

Mr. HENRY W. NEVINSON

by the **UNITED SUFFRAGISTS.**

(See page 801 of this issue.)

Other Short Speeches by:—

The Lady EMILY LUTYENS, Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE and Miss EVELYN SHARP (Chair).

Smoking Conversation War Refreshments

To facilitate Arrangements—Admission (Free) will be by **Tickets**, to be obtained on application **beforehand** to Hon. Secretary, United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2.

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IMPORTANT NOTICE!

The **UNITED SUFFRAGISTS** will hold a

CHRISTMAS SALE

AT THE

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER

(Near Westminster Hospital)

On SATURDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 8, from 3 till 9 p.m.,

To raise FUNDS to carry on their WOMEN'S WAR CLUB at 92, Borough Road, Southwark

PROMISES of HELP, in PERSON, MONEY, or KIND are hopefully *solicited*

ARTICLES SPECIALLY WANTED:—Provisions and Farm Produce, Books, Toys, Blouses, Overalls, Woollen Comforts, Embroideries.

OFFERS made **NOW** are doubly **VALUABLE**

All Communications to be addressed to Miss Brewster (Hon. Sale Organiser), United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.

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